DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 159 263 UD 018 541

AUTHOR Nandan, Yash
TITLE The East Indian Family in American City and Suburb.
PUB DATE 22 Apr 78
NOTE 49p.; Paper presented at the Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies (6th, La Crosse, Wisconsin, April 19-22, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Children; Cultural Background; Cultural Differences; Cultural Pluralism; *Culture Conflict; Ethnicity; Family Characteristics; *Family Life; Family Role; *Immigrants; *Indians; Religious Cultural Groups; Sex Role; *Social Adjustment

ABSTRACT

The East Indian family in the United States may be understood in terms of its ethnicity and the international character of its migration. East Indians, like other immigrants, possess certain experiential traits that make them vulnerable to "Anglo-conformity." Indo Americans participate in American society, while retaining ethnic/cultural identity in religion, festivals, food and other personal habits. This ethnicity continues to be maintained in a core of small East Indian communities in major American cities. In the early 1970s, the East Indian population in the United States increased greatly. Prior to that time, economic need had brought some East Indian students to American universities. Many of these students later brought their wives and families to live here. A second type of immigrant are those trained and educated in India, who have come to the U.S. as permanent residents. Despite their level of education, the process of assimilation and acculturation has come as a shock to these Indians, and has resulted in a breakdown of traditional family structure. Wives are isolated, marital relations are strained, intermarriages are becoming more frequent, children are exposed to an education considered less disciplined than that in India, and the family may adopt habits that would be deemed vices in India. The future survival of the traditional East Indian family in America is therefore uncertain. (EB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

AUG 7 1979

ED159263

THE EAST INDIAN FAMILY IN AMERICAN CITY AND SUBURB

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Yash Nandan

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Yash NANDAN

Rider College

Paper presented at the 6th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies held at University of Wisconsin - La Crosse, April 19-22, 1978. A part of this paper will be included in Pramatma Saran and Edwin Eames (eds.), New Ethnics: The Case of the East Indians. (In preparation).

UD018541

ANALYSIS AND METHOD: SOME INITIAL PROBLEMS

The East Indian[1] immigrants constitute a new addition to the existing complexity of American ethnic life. Our only claim in this study is our advantage in being the immigrants ourselves, and having taken the initiative to make the first attempt in a direction of sociological enquiry needing our immediate attention. All we are aiming at, is to do the spade work and introduce a rich theme. This will invite other specialists and scholars to delve into the subject matter by inducing more precise empirical data and by dealing with the details of the East Indian ethnic minority and this minority's family structure as time passes on. The difference between this pristine attempt and the later studies which may develop is quite clear. We are concerned with the immigrants themselves, without being concerned with how the generations afterward will react to the institutions they are brought up in, no matter how different from those of their parents and grandparents. The later studies, with their focus on the process of assimilation, will examine the complex problem of the Indo-Americans' social class, their status, and their conflict within the frame of reference of American society at large.

Scholarly literature on the process of Americanization -- adaptation, assimilation and accommodation -- of the "new immigrants" ending with the Second World War has its advantage in describing the real experiences of peoples and how their attributes of American culture evolved through the decades, in some cases of a century or so, with the predominant cultural

ethos of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP). Yet the "newer"[2] immigrants, among them Indo-American especially, have unique and unprecedented traits of character, personality and cultural heritage, as they represent a breed of highly educated and trained professionals, scholars, and scientists. They add to the already rich diversity of American racial and ethnic composition and to its richly endowed heritage. From among the ethnic minorities, the Indo-Americans, it is said, have the highest percentage of educated people; negatively speaking, they are underrepresented in the blue-collar occupations -- both skilled and semi-skilled. Numerically, the East Indians are too small to have any visible impact on American politics. They have no political base, nor any influence, so to speak.

Lack of this past experience and the absence of East Indians from the American social-cultural life can be evidenced from the scholarly literature on ethnicity and on related themes, which is profuse indeed. To quote just one good example: a chapter on the Indo-American family has been lacking in an otherwise excellent presentation of the American ethnic families by two sociologists seriously concerned with the problem, and lack of adequate literature on the subject (Mindel and Habenstein, 1976). This leaves us with little basis on which to formulate a viable discussion on the past experience of the Indo-American family, which is still evolving and is in the process of fusing itself with prototypical American culture and with culturally diversified strata. Literature on the East Indian family out of the subcontinent, in countries other than the United States is varied, depending upon the country and scholarly interest in the Indian Community as a unique ethnic group (Aurora, 1967: 50-66; Davids, 1964; Desai, 1963:

7-8, 122-144; Jefferey, 1976; Klass, 1961: 93-136; Malik, 1971: 27-29; Morris, 1956, 1959; Niehoff, 1959; Schwartz, 1965; Smith and Jayawardena, 1958; Srivastva, 1974). This study, then, is an attempt to describe and evaluate critically that ongoing and active process of transfusion of two cultures. While giving characterization to an experience which is mine as well, and while presenting a disquisition on a theme of which I am an integral part, I hope I have been objective and dispassionate enough not to give in to cultural biases and prejudices. By affirming my strong faith in the methodological rules of "classical" sociology, especially the organon "value reference" as prescribed by Max Weber, perhaps I can redeem myself.

New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and their suburbs have, in the most part, absorbed the substantial number of the East Indian immigrants.[3] In addition to my own data, collected from the study of a small sample of Indian families located between Philadelphia and New York, I had rather free access to the interview material on the East Indian families in the New York area procured by Parmatma Saran[4] (the senior editor of this volume) and Philip Leonard-Spark[5]-(a rather prominent collaborator to this volume). My years of observation of the growing East Indian community scattered thinly throughout the United States played a secondary and supplementary role, only reinforcing my conclusions arrived at from my primary source material.

Finally, what is exactly an East Indian family? Can anyone reveal precisely the true identity of the family in India (Desai, 1954, 1956, 1964; Good, 1963: 207-274; Kappadia, 1955; Karve, 1953; Mandelbaum, 1948; Ross, 1961; Shah, 1973), a country of so many diversities and so many groups? Indian experience as a motley mosaic of linguistic, religious, ethnic, and cultural groups is identical to what American epitomizes as the haven of culturally and ethnically heterogeneous groups. This bleak pessimism and sardonic cynicism will beset any enquiry that pretends to incorporate the subtle differentiations and unwieldly exceptions while attempting a microscopic view of the Hindu, Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Parsee, Buddhist, and tribal family structure as distinct and different from each other. Trifling nuances embodied in religious ceremonies, symbols, and rituals notwithstanding, the family of whatever religious identification in India shares the same destiny, and it derives its structural complex from the totality of the same cultural network; in sum, it represents essentially the joint family perhaps at the verge of breakdown; the strain the industrial and urban complexities have brought on it is quite visible at least (Gore, 1968; Kappadia, 1959; Kurian, 1961; Fonesca, 1963; Kaldate, 1961; Vatuk, 1972; Ross, 1959, 1961). Now, obviously, we are alluding to a few upwardly mobile members of the joint family from Indian villages, towns, and cities, who, instead of moving regionally within India have chosen to migrate to the New World of opportunities. Having lost its traditional character, a part of the dismembered joint family in India finds itself relocated in the American city and suburb. By addressing ourselves to this sort of question, we have attempted to strike a balance by including in our

enquiry the East Indian families from different religious groups and regional variations.

THEORETICAL ARGUMENTS

From a theoretical point of view the theme of an ethnic family in America, including the East Indian family, may be explained in terms of its ethnicity and international character of migration. The nexus of these two variables, by forming a strand of the theories, will give coherence to a systematic explanation of the formation of American ethnic family flourishing in a symbiotic environment. A Pole, an Italian, a Japanese, a Greek, a Jew, or an Indian represents, first and foremost, an ethnic category; consequently, ethnicity and its theoretical correlates play a major role in scholarly disquisition of the American society (Blalock, 1967; Lieberson, 1961; cf. Gordon, 1975). Also, the Anglo-Saxons, the Germans, the Jews, the Blacks, the Arabs, and the Chinese were all immigrants at one time in the relatively brief history of American civilization (Handlin, 1955; 17-48).

The "old immigrant" families, who virtually pioneered the settlement of the American continent, and the "new immigrant" families, who virtually laid the industrial and cultural foundations of the emerging New World, through an arduous process of Americanization -- adaptation, accomodation, and assimilation -- have acquired definite American traits, in addition to preserving some of their own cultural values. Compared to the past American experience in terms of ethnic nationalities and immigration patterns,

the East Indian family, a post-1960 immigrant, is of recent origin, adding a new dimension to the American social history, and providing new material for sociological inquiries. The sociological literature in profuse quantity on assimilation in American life, on race relations, and on ethnicity has resulted from the empirical data and theoretical reflections on the "old" and the "new" immigrants. A few hundred thousand recently arrived East Indian immigrant families and their evolving status in American urban life will not drastically change sociological arguments concerning intergroup relations and the prevailing wind of ethnic pluralism. Certainly the problem facing us is to find the locus of the East Indian immigrant family within the parameters of the existing theoretical models.

The "melting pot" (Glazer and Monyihan, 1963) theory of ethnicity has failed to fulfill its promise made long before the sociologists in 1950s and 1960s undertook to demonstrate its demise. If the crucible of the melting pot has failed to produce a national character in the image of the dominant group, or if the Jews, the Italians, the Irish, and the Blacks have shown their disinclination to absorb themselves completely into the cultural ethos of the WASP majority, it is because the immigrant families, predominantly the "new" ones, despite their transmutation have preserved certain values embodied in their own religious and cultural heritage. The East Indians are no different from other ethnic families, despite the fact that they have a distinct identity and social biography, and possess certain experiential traits which make them vulnerable to Anglo-conformity. By maintaining even a modicum of their cultural ethos, the East Indians, though they are highly assimilable professionals and well-educated, will make the melting pot a crucible of unmeltable ingredients.

Whereas the "melting pot" thesis alludes to a blending of a distinct American character and nationality through biological, racial, and ethno-cultural fusion, the "Anglo-conformity" idea demands the "complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group" (Gordon, 1955: 85). In the history of American immigration, the "Anglo-conformity" theory and the pedantic disquisition surrounding it provided all the ideological bases fit for assimilation of the immigrants into the prototypes of WASP institutions and cultural ethos. To many, the idea of "Anglo-conformity," even in its moderate form, smacked of racism of the predominant culture -- of its inherent racial superiority at least. Like the "melting pot" theory, it has since long been discredited as an irredeemable ideological complex. But the irony of this discredit lies in its applicability to a large segment of the educated elite of India, for whom Anglicization implies salvation and riddance of cultural inferiority. A part of this Anglicized community has formed the immigration stream to America. The sophisticated, educated East Indian man, and to a lesser degree the woman, still suffers from that inferiority complex and accepts the yoke of imperious English values as a solution to his problems. For him the stigma of "Anglo-conformity" to an alien and imperialist culture while still in India becomes more of a boon as he emigrates to America in search of newly acquired cultural consciousness and identity. In a way, the acquisition of "Anglo-conformity" at a young age make life easier for these Indo-Americans because they, unlike the immigrant Italians, the Jews, the Irish, from the peasant agrarian societies, at least have overcome the cultural barriers of language. Most of the East Indians have great

facility with the written as well as spoken English, accent and slight "Indianism" notwithstanding.

In contradistinct opposition to the "melting pot" and the "Anglo-conformity" views concocted by the proponents of predominant WASP culture, the politically expedient and the liberal concerns of the Hull House workers in Chicago and elsewhere in America helped to preserve the cultural heritage of the so-called "new immigrants." The Jews, the Italians, the Polish, the Irish, the Greeks, not so much the Blacks, the American Indians, the Japanese, the Chinese, those belonging to the non-European cultures under domination, accepted full participation at equal basis in the secular socio-economic and political institutions retaining tribal and ethno-cultural identity in religion, festivals, rituals, food, and other personal habits however. The "new immigrants," confining themselves into enclaves and pockets, forming ghettos and slums reflecting an ethical indictment on American industrial troprism evolved into a cultural diversity of social facts which soon was to be articulated into a sociological theory of "cultural pluralism." Americanization of the immigrants into the social life of the host country continued, so did the cultural diversification.

Enlightened American literati, and politicians as well, accept the source of American heritage posited in its cultural diversity as a fact of life. The East Indian immigrants and intellectuals immediately sensed that prevailing liberal atmosphere as conducive to their adaptation and accommodation in the American life style, not necessarily completely losing their identity by assimilating themselves into the host culture. The immigrants from the subcontinent in the 1960s and in the early part of 1970s, well-

educated as they are, spawned in the American major cities a core of "little East Indian villages," to use an urban sociologist's popular terminology (Gans, 1962). "Little India" of Queens is a popular expression. Hoboken's small East Indian community is esoterically referred to as "Patel Nagar" among the East Indian residents and their friends. East Indian homes are easily distinguished by the aromatic smell of exotic spices from the East. In fact, one East Indian was refused occupancy of an apartment for the landlord was unwilling to let the whole building smell with an odor released by the cooking of chili, curry powder, tamarind, and other savory green spices. A European immigrant's style of life expressed in clothes is hardly distinguishable from the American dress. But the meek and humble East Indian woman, contrary to the slavishly adaptive East Indian man, manifests her ethno centrism by wrapping herself into a sari, which until the recent hordes of East Indian immigrants have made it known to the Americans as the national costume of a country, was considered to be a thing of curiosity and was looked upon with uncommented peculiarity. Acceptance and wide popularity of the sari among the Americans have spurred the Pakistani women with a distinct national dress and fashion style of their own to wear a sari, giving them an appearance which they do not have in their native country. A very small number of Sikhs, known for their strong religious conviction and fearless tenacity which is symbolized in their turbans and other rituals, who have recently come to the United States as immigrants, have rather too easily given in to the dominant cultural mores of America by shaving off their long hair and beards and consequently abandoning the public display of their turbans, preserving other private rituals and symbols however.

"Cultural pluralism" as a theoretical concept signifies that American fact of life was rooted in dual cultural identities: American as well as one's ethnic identity. Thus the Italian immigrant became hyphenated with -American, and so on and so forth. The Association of Indians in America (AIA), the largest body of organized East Indians, leaves no stone unturned and does so without much word-mincing in its proclamations and meeting utterances that East Indians' loyalty rests with the country of their adoption. However, the Indo-Americans do not eschew the fact that by virtue of their heritage they cannot be totally Americans. The marginality of their protean adaptation and ostensibly curteous reception by the host culture leaves them with an option (perhaps without an alternative) to develop and inculcate in the minds of their children the concept of dual identity. Sociological abstractions have no meaning unless socially conducive situations exist to enable the ordinary person to reify them into concrete and real social facts. The concept "cultural pluralism" became epitomized in the bicentennial celebration of Indian-American Week in Philadelphia, April 24 - May 1, 1976, sponsored by the AIA. The title page of the Octavo size brochure prepared for the occasion displayed a two headed bird (which could pass for an eagle, a peacock, or a pheasant) on a bough, with a motto underneath "a dual cultural concept." The East Indians' imagination and practical romanticism caught up with the theoretical abstraction when they carved both an eagle and a peacock from one bird representing two symbols and two identities.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THE FORMATION OF THE EAST INDIAN FAMILY

Some fiery and nationalist East Indians trace the immigration of the East Indian family in the New World as far back as the late nineteenth century, which seems more like a romantic quixotism rather than a social fact. The U.S. Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 virtually restricted immigration into America to Northern and Western Europe, giving the country the semblance of a "lily white America." The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 (amended in 1965) removed the taint of racial bias from the immigration policies of this country. The Act and its amendment in the sequel opened the long closed sluices of open immigration from all over the world. Streams of East Indian immigrants started flowing. The East Indians population in America increased from a few thousand to almost 200,000 in the 1970s, due mostly to the post-World War II socio-economic changes in the United States, especially the economic and technological expansions of the 1960s exacerbated by Sputnik and the subsequent national concern to maintain and retain world leadership in science and technology.[6] With the slump that plagued economy in the middle 1970s, and with an end to educational expansion at higher level, the immigration of the East Indian families declined as did the need for technicians and professionals in America.

Free movement of the families out of India is of relatively recent origin; since India's independence in 1947, a million or more East Indians have emigrated to England and America. Prior to this date, during the colonial rule, the British brought thousands of East Indian families to Africa as indentured laborers (Rajkumar, 1951: 11-35; Saha, 1970). Some of the East

Indian immigrant families in the United States were already uprooted from their original homes since they had to leave because of the creation of Pakistan and India in 1947. Depending upon their religion almost fifteen million Muslims and Hindus moved from one country to another on the eve of partition (Thompson and Lewis, 1960: 474-501). Some of the respondents for this study, including the author himself, formed the core of epiphenomenal migrants and the first generation of the independent subcontinent for them, coming to the United States meant simply another movement -- double migration.

The Statue of Liberty -- the woman with a torch in her hand and with an awe-inspiring motto inscribed in her bossom, calling on the world to "give me thy poor" -- welcomed millions of poor and destitute Europeans. But from Asia and Africa, only the "coolies" and the slaves made it to this prosperous heaven on earth, coming to build the transcontinental railroads, work in the mines, and provide the cheapest labor on farms and plantations. Now the shift is from "Give (which should now read Gave) me thy poor" to "Give me thy educated." The country cannot absorb the illiterate and semi-skilled workers. During the decades of economic growth after the Second World War, combined with NASA's multibillion dollars investments in the space programs, the country needed a large corps of trained and educated professionals -- doctors, engineers, scientists, professors. Or at least a sizeable corps willing to undergo a rigorous program of training and education in the graduate departments at a time when the universities also had expanded their recruitment of the graduate student body. This direct and indirect economic need brought several thousands of East Indian students in the 1950s and 1960s to American universities' campuses, who formerly would invariably have gone to

the British universities for their higher education (Singh, 1963: 18-20). The veteran East Indians who are playing an important role in the organizational set up (such as the AIA) and in the community life, came initially to this country in the 1950s as students and later brought their families for permanent settling. Until the late 1960s the steady flow of East Indian students for higher studies in science, technology, and medicine, with some trickling numbers in social sciences and the humanities, continued unabated. Large size East Indian students' community on the American campuses generated interests with varying degree of seriousness and import among the nouveau parvenu sociologists for a study of their social life, including their attitude toward sex and courtship dating (Bressler, 1956; Bardis, 1960; cf. an excellent study by Singh, 1963). A substantial percentage of the student body from India remained in this country by changing the status of their visas, which, at that time, was relatively easier, a matter of simple ritual and bureaucratic procedure. In fact the long stay by the student in this country made his departure difficult,[7] if not impossible. Students from middle and lower class families did not want to return for the material advantages in staying here far outweighed the economic gains in returning to India. Once the student solved his economic problems and was able to provide for his wife and children, he brought them here to the United States. The unmarried student who chose to stay here had two options in terms of selecting a mate and launching a family of procreation. A majority of students after the completion of their education or during the course of it went to India, got married, and brought their spouses to America than those who preferred American wives. The initial composition of the East Indian

families was actually started by the students who opted to stay here forever. Constituting a large body of the East Indian families in the United States, the students thus laid the foundation of an East Indian community in the major American cities.

The second type of migrants from the subcontinent constitute a large number of well-educated trained professionals who received "green cards" from the American embassy for permanent residency in the United States. These "newer" immigrants in most cases brought their wives and children and landed at Kennedy Airport -- a symbol of affluent America welcoming the educated immigrants -- instead of at the Ellis Island -- a symbol of still, an emerging America welcoming the illiterate, the unskilled, the poor and the destitute Europeans. Hordes of students leaving India for their graduate studies, especially for Ph.D., coupled with the emigration of the experienced and educated talents constituted what in highly publicized scholarly literature and daily newspapers is known as the brain drain (BD).

From the above discussion the following distinct types of the East Indian families emerge. The typology thus formulated has significance and import transcending mere narration of facts and Juxtaposition of events. At a later date I plan to undertake the subtleties of socio-cultural differences within these types and how different East Indian families adapt themselves to secular institutions. In the absence of a proper terminology in designation of these types of East Indian families, they will be referred to in the subsequent disquisition by the type number itself.

Classification of the East Indian Family

Type I Student-Immigrant families

- I A Married students who brought their spouses and children along with them
- I B Married students who brought their spouses and children after their stay of some years in the U.S.
- I C Unmarried students who returned to India and brought their spouses
- I D Unmarried students who married Indian spouses in America
- I E Unmarried students who married spouses other than Americans (marrying Europeans, Africans, Latin Americans, and Asians -- other than Indians.)
- I F Unmarried students who married Americans

Type II Immigrant families

- II G Married couples who brought their spouses and children with them
- II H Married couples who brought their spouses and children after their stay of some years in the U.S.
- II I Unmarried immigrants who returned to India and brought a spouse
- II J Unmarried immigrant who married an Indian spouse in America
- II K Unmarried immigrant who married spouse other than American
- II L Unmarried immigrant who married American

Mention should be made of the other possible East Indian male/female type as an element in the process of family formation. After arrival in the United States, an individual may stay unmarried; such extreme eccentric cases, however, are almost nonexistent in the community. A person's marriage may be delayed due to education, but it is never allowed to become a permanent

situation. The East Indian community, like the rest of the American population, will surely have its share of permanent bachelors and spinsters; at this moment the question is only a hypothetical entity. Nor was it necessary for this study to enquire about the singles in their forties and the divorcees. A study of deviant behavior in the East Indian family life can be undertaken separately (cf. Desai, 1963: 122-144).

EAST INDIANS AS A NEWER ETHIC MINORITY: BACKGROUND AND HERITAGE

East Indian's immigration to the United States is of recent origin: yet more recent is the visible formation of the East Indian community with its distinct social and cultural life, including a characteristic family structure. Very few Indians practice yoga or meditation, but these mystical spiritual values are becoming an influential part of the American social structure. Transcendental meditation (often characterized as TM), yoga, and Harekrishna Bhaktivada movement are of recent import to the New World from India as are the intellectuals. Accomplishments by the Indo-Americans in science, philosophy, and arts are becoming more and more visible and recognized. Disillusioned by materialism and the pervasive attitude of pessimism and inertia engendered by a meaningless life, more Americans are embracing the mystical East Indian cults for salvation and regeneration.

In one way or the other, the recent East Indian immigrants are still emotionally attached to their country of birth. A sizeable number of East Indians, 7,000 according to the Department of Justice, have become American citizens and almost everyone preens at his success in the practice of a

satisfactory vocation and in leading a contended life, at least materially. Nonetheless, they express their sentimental longings for a country that holds their vivid memories and roots. The husband takes the entire family to India every once in three or four years for a visit to and reunion with his family members and friends. It is their vacation, East Indian style of course. Intellectuals and educated elites have at times shown deep concern for the internal politics and policies of the Indian government. Indians for Democracy, from its base in Chicago, made front-page news in the major American dailies for its demonstrations and condemnatory speeches protesting the "emergency" raj of Prime Minister Indira Gandlhi.

Professional Status

The East Indians in America take pride in their status as being a most recent minority with numerical superiority, in proportion, of educated people with the highest degrees vis-à-vis other American minorities. Even though the majority of the East Indian immigrants are professionals employed by the industries, public and private institutions, there are a number of individuals engaged in small scale and medium size business: restaurants; export and import, especially of Indian goods and merchandize, catering to the Indian clientele; grocery and appliance stores, serving especially the Indian families; and publishing. The Indian businessmen are too small in number and too low in the size of their corporations and companies to have an impact of any kind on the American economy.

Professionally, the Type I immigrants, for the reason of their longer stay and due to their exposure to American cultural life on the university campuses, are well integrated into the American society and derive the greatest satisfaction from their occupational pursuits as doctors, engineers, professors, lawyers, accountants, and insurancemen. Eminently qualified in their respective professions, they are well regarded by their peers and superiors; they find it easier than other immigrants in placement and in getting promotion, thus climbing up the latter. Students from India who for some reasons did not succeed in their studies somehow managed to integrate themselves into the business life and economic structure. A student who came to study agriculture for his Ph.D. became a successful salesman after having dropped out of the university. In fact, he has no remorse and does not regret, for not having completed his doctorate. His income bracket puts him in a much higher position than those who have a Ph.D. in the subject. Married to an American, he has two children and owns a spacious house, with statues, fountains, and many other elegant but ostentatious gadgets. After looking at the conspicuous prosperity of an East Indian an American would only say: "An immigrant just off the boat and living like a prince."

The Type II immigrants, even though well-educated according to Indian standards and highly experienced professionals in their fields since they have worked for several years in India before migrating to the United States, are not quite accepted as equivalent to those mentioned above. A chemist in India with a master's degree ends up a clerk in Bell Telephone, and without his wife's supplementary income would not be able to survive in America. A highly educated and experienced librarian from India works as

an acquisition librarian clerk or assigned some task on the circulation desk in a big library. To promote him from a non-technical to technical position, he is advised to undergo training in an American university and obtain a master's degree, a suggestion which he grudgingly accepts. In the meantime, to meet his expenses in support of his wife and two children he starts a small business of dry cleaning, manned essentially by his wife. Educatted Indian immigrants, whatever their high qualifications from India, must go through a process of reorientation and socialization, both in education and in adapting themselves to the mechanical and more efficient world of business and industry. Without at least a tacit acquiescence on their part to under take a minimal level of education and training in the American system of higher learning and productivity, they obviously cannot hope to derive maximum satisfaction from their work and economic life. Individuals in their late 30s and early 40s complain ruefully of the lack of motivation and desire to unlearn some of their past experiences, a difficult task indeed, and relearn some new experiences.

Wives of all the East Indian men display wide contrasts from one type to another. The contrast between the Indian man married before the completion of his education and the one married after his education is more striking than anyting else. The Type I A immigrants' wives are least educated, for their marriages were consummated long before they became conscious of their self and status in society. Due to a lack of higher education, they work in businesses and industries offering them low pay. In some cases the wives have taken up the challenge to enrol themselves in colleges and universities to makeup for their previous lack of education. The husband

holding a high position, and with a circle of middle class American friends feels embarassed in bringing his wife to the parties and such other occasions, lest the introduction of his less educated wife bring unto him unneeded and unwanted discomfort. On the other hand, the Type I C East Indian men, after their education in America, married well-educated women and those who belong to higher social class. A big dowry may not be their aim while marrying a woman, but her education, her charm, her urbane and well placed parents, and above all, her ability to make an easy adjustment to American life are. Again these women, like immigrant men, feel the need of making their career and supplementing their husbands' salaries through undertaking a continuous program of higher education in America. A woman with an M.S. in botany in India obtains another M.S. in the same subject before she is fully accepted for a Ph.D. program.

Economically, the East Indian families are well off. Considering all the sources of their income ranging from an engineer husband with a high salary and the wife staying at home, to the both working husband and wife, the East Indian families hang between upper lower class to lower upper class; consequently, their absence from the two lower classes (middle lower and lower lower) and the two upper classes (upper upper and middle upper) is quite noticeable. Most East Indians, whatever their income status, have adopted the life style of an average middle class American. Even the lower-upper class East Indian families, especially where the husband and wife are both East Indians, do not show off their wealth by putting on a style of life not their own to begin with. Aside from the fact that East Indian families must think of their financial obligations toward their rela-

tives in India, and of the costly trip which they must make, at least once in four or five years.

BREAKDOWN IN TRADITIONAL FAMILY STRUCTURE

India is a land where joint family and co-parternary rights of agnati members in the family still hold ground. Urbanization and industrialization in a part of India has not basically changed the kinship structure and the joint family organization as it has been evidenced by an ever-increasing array of literature (Ross, 1961; Vatuk, 1972; Kaldate, 1961; Goode, 1963: 203-269). If the East Indians living in America exhibit familiar and matrimonial attributes dissimilar from those of India, except for a small Sikh community of Canada (Srivastva, 1974) and perhaps elsewhere, it is because of their transplantation into a culture completely industrialized and urbanized, combined with their socio-economic background conducive to such changes in social and family life. Had these people stayed in India, even in the most advanced industrial and urban sector of the society, they might not have strayed from the cultural values governing the family and kinship organization. Migration of a little less than ten thousand miles away from the home country and a life too far removed from the joint family, coupled with a challenge to accept or reject a social setting entirely different from India are some of the reasons for change and possible breakdown in the traditional family structure of the Indo-Americans. A breakdown that is quite discernible in the Indo-American family absorbed by the libidinous greed of the American industrial tropism may be explained with reference

to the following constituent elements of the Indian joint family system: household, family size, property as a social unit, paternal authority, marriage, religious functions, dowry, and purdah.

Without going into the literature[8] in support of distinguishing joint family from household (Shah, 1973: 138-143), it must be admitted, notwithstanding the formal character of our generalization, that the joint family in India derives its origin from the ancestral household. The separated and disjointed East Indian families can not afford to bring their elders (whether paternal or maternal) or their younger brothers and sisters. In most cases, the living space a family rents, or the house it acquires on a mortgage basis, is barely enough for its own personal needs. In the entire survey of the East Indian families, only in one case was a father living on a short term visit basis with the small nuclear family. In another case the son invited his mother to live with the family on a permanent basis. Often the East Indian couples (Type IA-ID and IIG to IIJ) invite their mothers-in-law for a short visit; to stay with the family during the woman's pregnancy, childbirth and a few months afterwards. The visit alleviates many problems, as during the time of need somebody is there to take care of the household, even though for a brief while. Additional advantage of an older woman's visit accrues to the housewife who develops a longing for her folks. The East Indian families do invite their younger brothers and sisters for education, but their stay with the family is very brief--just like entertaining another visitor who comes and leaves the house after a short stay. The East Indian family is not only reduced to a small and nuclear size in structure, it is also truncated and mutilated, for the limbs are separated

by geographic distance forming barriers to frequent reunion of the entire family and not allowing for viable communication in performing rituals.

Owing to the high value of income earned here, both in terms of total income and its relatively high value to the Indian rupee, the East Indian family does not look with covetous eyes to appropriate a share of the joint family property or ancestral estate. There is an exception to it, however. An East Indian by virtue of his status as the oldest son was able to transfer through mutual arrangement a sum of thousand dollars he acquired from his ancestral property. Having moved away from the source of paternal authority, the couples act more freely than they would have behaved had they been with their large family in India. Nor are they expected to give authoritarian advice to their children in their personal choice of mate selection and occupational preference. Most of the parents in India would not have allowed their sons and daughters to indulge in drinking and other habits regarded as taboos by Indian religions. Here East Indians attach no stigma to accepting and offering alcoholic beverages.

The traditional restrictions on the free choice of spouse -- caste endogamy, gotra exogamy (Karandikar, 1929), prohibition on the marriage of the known consanguines, and in some cases hypergamy -- apply to the highly Westernized families in India that have provided an emigration valve of the educated Indians to the United States. Distinction must be made between the Indian youths who were "made" to -- or forced to -- marry by their elders before the onset of their higher education or during the course of it and those who were able to delay it before the completion of their education. In the former case (Types IA to IB and IIG to IIH) the marriages were com-

pletely endogamous and in some cases hypergamous as well, and arranged, partially if not fully. The latter type (Types IC and III) points up a mixture of both endogamous and exogamous, depending upon the attitude of the educated man and the reception his changed ideas receive among the network of family members. A college-going youth may break all the conventions of the family life by radically departing from them (Shah, 1962). He may find his love mate from among his female section of the class and may succeed in marrying her, popularly designated as "love marriage" in India. Parents of an educated son often demand dahej[9] (dowry) in exorbitant amounts of money. The East Indian educated in America, however, because of his exposure to an immensely materialistic life and his easy access and ability to buy these material things, apprized and coveted much in India by the Westernized elite class, looks more at the qualities of the spouse as a compatible person. The American educated Indian men bring sophisticated and well-educated women with them from their relatively brief trip to India. Marriages in such cases are not completely arranged; they are not consummated after a long period of courtship and love either. Some of the returning Indians accept the arrangement through running a classified advertisement in the daily newspaper, a unique characteristic of the Westernized upper class and educated urban Indian families (Reyes-Hockings, 1966). To a lesser degree India Abroad, a New York based weekly, meets the similar needs of the Indo-American community by providing a matrimonial column in the newsmagazine. A couple, studied in the sample, eloped from India only to consummate the marriage in the United States. The Christian couple preens itself on the successful ending of their chivalrous romance having resulted in the finale coming in a free country where their marriage was consummated.

The East Indian family shows a varying degree of strain in marital relations between husband and wife. The strain is more severe and it looms at the surface where one partner is American and the other Indian. In one case, the cultural gap existing between the Indian husband and American wife and their personality differences combined with their suspicions of each other resulted in a near divorce situation soon after the marriage. Divorce of an Indian husband or wife from an American spouse affects, for obvious reasons, the former more adversely than the latter. The East Indians are still not used to the idea of accepting divorce as a solution to their problems of whatever nature and whatever degree. Aside from their own conservative attitude toward marriage, they fear the disapproval of their divorce by their parents and kin in India would be even more critical for the whole family. The East Indian man, partly afraid of a possible divorce after the marriage and partly because of his awareness of the cultural differences, often hesitates to marry an American. The international character of marriages between Indians and Americans have a further noticeable aspect: More Indian men have taken American wives than the reverse. The next generation of East Indian men and women, due to the lack of suitable matches from the same caste or religion (Malik, 1971: 27-28), will tend to marry more and more Americans. Whether the East Indian man or woman will prefer to marry a black or white spouse is another question which cannot be neglected. However, it cannot be dealt with here because of the limited space we have.

The Indo-American marriages within their own community, especially marriages of origin in India, are more stable and less prone to divorce and strain. Stability of such marriages is warranted by the social and communal

relationships between the two families in India. Also, the Indian woman is more tolerant of her husband's idiosyncracies and more submissive to his commands and wishes. Furthermore, similar customs and upbringing strengthens their bonds and allows a growing feeling for each other.

EAST-INDIAN FAMILY IN THE AMERICAN CITY AND SUBURB

Minorities in a dominant culture have the tendency to adopt names from the dominant group, both first and last names, to give semblance to their identity of conformity. The East Indian families, especially the husband who works for the secular institutions, have so far resisted the invisible pressure to conform. Children's names are likewise Indian, especially where both the spouses are Indian. Hindu and Muslim names are more distinguishable than Jewish and Christian names. Surprisingly enough, indeed, a few Indian Jews have emigrated to the United States. Indian Christians have less problems in identifying their names with those of the Americans.

A typically East Indian family will emerge only after generations of socio-cultural experience in the United States. There is growing evidence of an emerging East Indian community in the big cities. Only the first and the second generation East Indians born, raised, and educated here will constitute the potential members of a genuine Indo-American community. That does not yet exist and the future possibilities of such a social fact are remote and too far removed from the present when most of the first generation members are still in elementary, secondary and high schools. There are some concerted efforts however, semi-institutionalized and quasi

effective, on the part of the community to instill and impart values of their culture to their children who supposedly will retain traces of their parents' culture.

Sex Roles

In general a woman in the United States is low paid and subject to discrimination. The status of inferiority accorded to woman is deplorable, as it runs counter to our belief and advocacy of equalitarianism. Her counterpart, the East Indian woman, has similar status in the community and in society at large. Aside from a few women doctors and teachers, and a large contingent of nurses, the East Indian women are employed as semi-skilled laborers in industries, in assembly plants, and as saleswomen in various business places. They supplement their husbands' income. The well-paid professionals in engineering and medicine prefer their wives, whatever the level of their education, to stay home, take care of the household, rear children and cook native dishes every evening for dinner. With a master's degree in a technical subject, the devoted American wife of an Indian Muslim in the study, himself an engineer working for a large and nationally reputed company, takes pride in, and derives gratification, from serving her husband every evening well-prepared savory dishes, such as biryani, kofta, dal, raita -- all Indian dishes. Her devotion and sacrifice have taken exemplary form in that, even though she does not wear a veil, she willingly agrees to her husband's wishes in depriving herself from swimming in public in the summer months, a pleasure relished by every American

woman. Ironically, the father takes both children, one a girl, to the pool and helps them learn the stylistic acrobats. The Hindu women are less constrained by the religious interdictions in the matter of swimming in public. For them, and to their conservative husbands, wearing a bathing suit may represent sexual exhibitionism and promiscuity. Characterized as immodest, the East Indian women do not swim because they do not know how to swim and their husbands would perhaps not let them even if they knew.

The young wife in India is always surrounded by all sorts of kinship folks, including her in-laws whose advice she follows. That atmosphere of conscience collective and community life left in India, the East Indian woman, unless she is absorbed in work or study, feels lonely and bored by a life spent in seclusion and devoid of an intimate friendly circle, consisting of devar (younger brother-in-law), sister-in-law, and younger members of the family (Aurora, 1967: 62-64). Whereas the husband spends his time in the office, where he finds the company of his American friends, or he may kill his evenings or weekends with his East Indian friends, the woman is left by herself and with children to take care of. Lack of friends here and nostalgia for her folks back in India creates a chasm in her personal and social life. Relationship between the husband and wife, both of Indian origin, are on a more unequal basis in their dealing with the external world. Unlike the husband, she longs for a visit to India more often than she is allowed, and for a longer period of time than what she is permitted. This need of the East Indian woman to visit her family in India at the expense of her husband's sacrifice, for the comforts he derives from her presence are too many, emanates from her long drawn-out secluded life

stripped of familial identification and emotional satisfaction. Her predicament evokes more sympathy in that she is in a situation where she is unaware of the American customs in child rearing and in disciplining the grown-up children, and in the absence of her elders she cannot seek their advice. Not prepared for an independent and individualistic orientation of life characterized by initiatives and self-help which America imposes on every adult, the East Indian woman, more so than her counterpart, shows strain in her personality and in her relations with her husband and children. In India individualistic character of personality is not disdained, instead it is subsumed in the layers of communal complex and collective representation.

Some of the East Indian migrants, coming from wealthy and educated families, had their servants at their beck and call for all sorts of personal needs from preparing morning tea to washing dishes, shining shoes, and even driving their Indian-made motor vehicles. Mechanical devices, reasonably priced and efficient though they are, perform limited services in relation to the total needs of the household. An electric stove in the kitchen is quite a boon to the Indian woman coming from a middle class or lower class family, but not for a woman from a wealthy family in India, for in America she herself must cook. A vacuum cleaner is quite a handy tool even for the American housewife, but it must be turned around by the two hands of a woman rarely used to picking up a straw from the ground in India. It is hard to adjust to such a life for women from aristocratic and bourgeois families in India. For them even a luxurious life in the United States represents downward mobility -- and lowering of their social status.

Men who would never bother to do errands or help in the household work in India, which they consider below their dignity, share such responsibilities on more or less equal footing in America. Shopping in particular, if not the work done in the kitchen, is considered a joint responsibility -- of both husband and wife. Except for a few Indian men who would have their wives do everything for the house, others take pride in their culinary art, which they have learned by living alone for a period of time, and partake in most kitchen work. General statements cannot be made in this regard, but surely the East Indian husband takes keen interest in what is cooking on the stove and what edibles they have at home.

Fertility

The couples interviewed for this study are in their 30s and 40s. Men married while pursuing their studies (Types IA, IB, IIG, IIH) have wives a year or two younger than they; those married after their studies (Type IC, II I) have wives that are several years younger. The American-educated East Indian man, when he returns to India, is already in his late 20s, and the woman he marries has recently completed her bachelor or master degree, i.e., she is in her early 20s. What is common to all the couples of all types is that they have at the most two children, with no intention to procreate more. The East Indian educated families in the United States would have at least three or four children if they were in India. Furthermore, if the born children to a family were all girls, the pursuit of having a baby would be a strong motivation to having another child, with the hope

that the new born child would be a boy. The East Indians here are not distressed as much by the absence of a son in the family. Since the contemporary American society accepts girls as much as it accepts boys, the preference for having a boy over a girl has not been much of an issue among the East Indian families.

The fertility rate of the East Indian families is remarkably similar to the average American fertility rate and average family size. In addition to living in a society which values small family size and where a large family is considered an economic liability, the Indo-Americans have extra responsibility and are concerned with taking their wives and children to India for a family reunion. The costly trip to India of the whole family is a big economic strain and becomes a determining factor in the low fertility rate among the East Indians.

Children's Education

The East Indians have admiration for the superb quality of American higher education. They feel, however, that the system lacks discipline, especially at the elementary and secondary school levels. The puritan East Indians--which some of them are due to their upbringing in a society with many strong proscriptions and taboos--, and the concerned parents express their apprehensions about their children getting into the habits of drinking and smoking while still at a young age. For this fear, combined with their concern to impart cultural values to a generation they are bringing up, a very few East Indians, send their children for a year or two to a

private school in India, at least on an experimental basis. For American money even the best schools in India with highiy educated staff and with modern equipment and teaching aids turn out to be less expensive. The children themselves realize how hard it would be to live and study in an atmosphere alien to their Americanized habits; but to please their parents they are willing to give it a try.

The well-off East Indians who can afford it have moved from one county to another, from city to suburb, for the benefit of their children's education. Those who are disinclined to send their children to public schools for the lack of proper education find satisfaction in sending them to Catholic schools, which, obviously, are less expensive than secular private schools. The atmosphere at Catholic institutions, they argue, is conducive to discipline: the company of other children whose parents share similar concerns about public education is also a factor in the East Indians' attitude toward Catholic schools. It may be added, coincidentally, that some of the more brilliant boys I have known personally, were educated in Catholic schools.

The school itself and the peers at school are the best source of socialization of the East Indian children into the American way of life. They easily pick up many American habits both appreciated and disliked by their parents. The rigid and hostile attitude of some parents towards the American culture does not permit their children to learn adequately from their peers in school about American social values and culture, including sports and games, family life, and habits concerning recreation and study. On the other hand, the more permissive parents, and those who spend very little

or no time with their children, give them wide-open freedom to socialize with the American children. This freedom opens doors to habits not quite approved of by many American parents, such as gunning and riding a motor cycle at an early age, let alone by conventional and conservative East Indians. Not infrequently, the East Indian parents find children of their Indian friends to play with their children after school.

Changing Life Style

Signs of change among the East Indian immigrants are quite visible. The principal reason being that the East Indians who have come are a breed of highly Westernized educated people, combined with their materialistic outlook toward life vis-à-vis their parents' ritualistic and conservative life style. These qualities of the East Indians make them vulnerable to the ethos of dominant culture more than any other ethnic group. A few generations from now, they will be completely absorbed by the industrial tropism of American culture. Such an open attitude has some functionally latent advantages to those who seek personal gratification and economic gains by participating openly with the Anglicized dominant group.

Dress, drinking, and eating habits are some of the essential aspects of daily life which experience changes of far-reaching consequences to the immigrants in a host culture. The East Indian educated man, disparagingly called "babu" by the masses in India, invariably wears clothes of Western style and does so in the United States. So there is nothing spectacular about the change in his dress. The East Indian educated man is rigidly

attached to his formality in dress, more so than the Americans. The East Indian men who have lived longer in this country seem to have acquired appreciation for casual dressing. The East Indian woman has yet to forsake her sari that serves both a formal and informal purpose. Since the sari-clad East Indian women are going to stay in America, the people seem to have accepted it as conventional dress of Indian women and ostensibly compliment them for their exotic appearance. Some few East Indian young women, both in India and in the United States, are seen wearing slacks, even jeans. School-going girls wear American dresses and when they grow up they will continue their habit of wearing American clothes. Thus will disappear the look of a woman wrapped in yardslong snappy silk material, her body covered from ankle to neck.

Americanized and semi-Americanized East Indians freely, in some case bashfully, indulge in drinking aperitifs and cocktails after work or in social gathering with their American friends. Alcoholism as a social problem is absent from the East Indians. The Indo-Americans, even the brahmins by Indian caste system who supposedly must be punctilious observers of positive religious rites and must be scrupulous about the negative interdictions on food, do not place taboos on drinking alcoholic beverages. The brahamans whom I studied along with other East Indians drink whatever is available from the pitcher; however, some of them would vow not to eat any kind of meat or touch the porcelain pot containing it. The East Indians, both men and women, who have taken to eating meat here in the United States do not make a fuss about the kind of meat that is offered to them. The East Indians with longer stay in this country (Types IC and ID) have developed irreversible taste and

liking for the fast food -- hamburger, hot dog, and steak. The East Indian Jainis, both men and women, have strong religious convictions about food. They still preserve their esoteric habits in food and beverages -- no meat and no alcohol, even an egg is prohibited. How do they survive? It is a question which cannot be easily answered. If America can look with pride at the Amish and Hasidic Jews, why should it look askance at the Jainis.

Almost all East Indian wives complain incessantly and ubiquitously about their children's over-Americanization -- being spoiled with American habits and an easy life -- at an early age of their growth. The East Indian parents face serious problems when they plan a visit to their family, relatives and friends in India -- where the children make impractical and imperious demands-- impossible to be met: hot shower, tissues and paper towel, Sesame Street show on the TV screen, baby shampoo for a bath, cereal for breakfast and a hot dog with mustard for lunch, and everybody speaking English for them. Such tedious and idiosyncratic habits of the East Indian child create frictions between the family with a trunk and branches in India and one branch of the family in the United States. Most of the grown-up children possess a smattering knowledge of their parents' language although not sufficient to communicate with their uncles, aunts, nieces and cousins in India. Americanization becomes so predominant in the lives of the East Indian children that they show disinclination for their repeated trips to India.

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

Hinduism is not a unified and institutionalized religion with well-defined dogma and ecclesiastical organization like Christianity, Islam and

Judaism. Though classified and popularly accepted as a religion, Hinduism is the synthesis of diverse elements in philosophy, rituals, and beliefs. The caste diversity and prevailing religious heterogeneity of beliefs and rituals to a great extent characterize the multiple religious and cultural organizations sponsored and patronized by the East Indians in America. For an Indian Muslim, the mosque where an Arab, an Iranian, a Pakistani, and a Turk worship together gives him a sense of identification and the symbol reifies his brotherhood. A Christian from India is also well-off as far as religious identification is concerned. An Indian Jew finds in the Jewish community a welcome home. But for the Hindu families, the problem is different and has different dimensions.

There are few temples in New York City[10] and its vicinity. Some of the temples to which the Indian swamis and the followers of the leading Hindu reform movements have established in New York City, have a cosmopolitan character; they attract a large number of American devotees and audience as well. Meditation and Yoga Centers which have spread across the American nation have their followers and members derived from Americans of all economic and social strata. The sample of Indians studied here is too much preoccupied with their material needs and too much removed from their spiritual needs that they can hardly think of attending religious centers and performing ceremonies. Western scientific-rational education exercises another corroding influence on the religious beliefs of those East Indians who have lost their faith while participating in the secular activities and institutions. Sradha -- a rite to commemorate the ancestors -- which normally unites the living members of the Hindu joint family is completely absent in

may convert or those who attend services as nominal devotees transfer their religious beliefs and values into the embodiment of a church.

The influx of the East Indian immigrants in New York City and in its vicinity in recent years has caused the emergence of Indian groups and their socio-cultural organizations across the ethnic, caste, religious, regional, and provincial lines. Gujerati, Bengalis, Panjabis, Biharis, and a host other East Indian groups have their own associations. Regionalism and parochialism among the East Indians in America is the replica of what characterizes India and its society in terms of racial, linguistic, and regional diversity across the caste and religious lines. By forming alumni associations of ex-students from different universities in India, the East Indians have carried the flag of regionalism a little too far. In a world where everyone is a stranger and lost in the dense crowds of a mass society, the East Indians by forming multiple religious and cultural organizations are seeking identification with the members of their ethnic group across the lines of their mutual concerns, needs, and cultural similarities, in addition to coalescing their interests and emotional identities with the Americans.

CONCLUSION: THE EAST INDIAN FAMILY AT THE CROSS ROAD OF TWO CULTURES

The status of the East Indian family in the institutionalized frame of American society at large, and its function as a viable unit, still remains obscure for the East Indian community has yet to evolve a unified and autonomous image of itself of which the East Indian family is an integral part.

Whatever generalizations are made here will provoke the ire of those who first note the exceptions and give their sociological judgement on the pristine character of a study like this. We have no claim to have said anything definitive: far from it, it has never been our aim; nor were we mired by the slightest semblance of such an attempt to be successful in this direction. The East Indian family with a discernible history of ten years or so, a miniscule lapse of time as compared to both the "Old" and the "New" immigrants, is in the midst of protean evolution and adapting itself to a culture not quite alien yet not quite autochthonous. How then can this study of an ethnic group still evolving and still in its pristine stages of institutional development have even the slightest claim as to the end result.

Considering the family as a primary unit of socialization, and comprising spouses, children, and blood relatives, the East Indian family in the United States is far from being complete. The children of these families growing up in America have very little, at least inadequate, knowledge of and contact with their uncles, aunts, and nieces, not to speak of their grandparents and a vast circle of relatives constituting a joint family, all left in India. These relatives would have served as perennial, effective and emotive sources of socialization had the child been raised in India in a culture autochthonous to him. That primary source and essentially emotive and personal link severed, the East Indian child in America is left to grow up under the care of relatively young parents and the friendship circle. Much the same, his socialization remains at the mercy of popular culture -- consisting of books, journals, magazines -- and a motley group of public institutions, all of which maintain impersonal character and formal ambivalence.

The absence of consanguine relatives not only affects the socialization of the child, but it may have some detrimental effect on the immigrant family itself as well, notwithstanding the high level of education of the East Indian immigrants. The small nucleus of family by itself is rendered vulnerable to many habits that may be deemed vices to the East Indian families in India. Its situation of helplessness is further reflected in the immediate and irreversible process of assimilation and acculturnation which often comes as a shock to many immigrants. Unlike the East Indian educated man who is easily assimilated into the cultural ethos of American life, the East Indian woman, educated though she may be, is bashful, slow, and less adept in acquiring the Western attributes of personality. Absence of a well-defined and coherent ideology in the East Indian community to sustain the East Indian family life and preserve ethnic pride, coupled with the easy assimilability of the educated Indians, cause some Indians active in the community affairs to feel despair at the vanishing of their culture in less than one generation.

The East Indian family by virtue of its accomplished education in arts and sciences, and by virtue of its professional status, is a full participant in the growth of American economy: there is no record from the sample studied that an East Indian was, or is, on welfare or unemployment benefits. The East Indians' contributions to arts and sciences are also significant. Hypothetically, the East Indian parents, in their old age, would not want to be condemned to a nursing home; nor would they be an economic burden on their children. After having spent an active and productive life with satisfaction and fulfillment, they may retire in the village or town in India they came from, leaving their children in America.

The East Indian children raised and educated in America have three choices in mate selection and marriage: (1) marry Americans, (2) marry East Indians in America, and (3) accept parental interference and have a marriage arranged in India. The third possibility is remote if not inconceivable. The first generation of Indo-Americans, having cultural roots and socialization experiences in America, will be disinclined to accept the arranged marriages for them. The choice of finding an East Indian spouse of similar taste, aptitude, ability, in sum the qualities eliciting marital compatibility, not to mention caste, and identical regious, linguistic, and regional ties, will be very limited. Not many first generation grown-up Indo-Americans will know each other well because of the wide remoteness in their geographic location. The most plausible conclusion is that the generation growing up now will marry Americans. The first type of marriages among the East Indians is more discernible than the other two. Endogamous marriages not being consummated among the Indo-Americans will eventually lead to the complete disappearance of the East Indian family and of its individual structure. Discrimination is the greatest machine ever invented by the human mind which turns the spiritual wheels and provides cementing bonds to the tribes, clans, and ethnic groups to launch a relentless struggle to out survive persecution and outlawry. Unless such a happenstance is visited upon the Indo-Americans, and unless there is an upsurge of identity crisis among the members of the community itself, the future survival of the East Indian family and of its traditional attributes are uncertain, if not doubtful. Given the very small size of the East Indian community scattered all over the country, forming intermittent but visible patches and pockets in the ethnic mosaic of American society, the conclusion that we arrive at in this study becomes inevitable.

NOTES

1. Quite benignly, Columbus by exclaiming Eureka! at the Indians of America and mistakenly taking them for East Indians erred in the proper use of terminology, a deceptive nomenclature which lends itself to duplicity and misunderstanding, even for the very educated. For instance, in France "l'Indien" (Indian) invariably means the American Indian. The East Indians are distinguished as "les Hindous" (the Hindus). Even the educated French are taken by surprise when told that India has, besides the majority of Hindus, a sizable minority of Muslims, not to mention small but discernible minorities of Budhists, Parsees, Christians, and Jews. An Indian Muslim would feel an utmost umbrage when addressed "l'Hindou." With the recent growth of of East Indian population in America, the designation "Indo-American" has been suggested in some quarters, which I prefer over the former. In this study, therefore, both the terms have been used interchangeably; the usage "East Indian",however, conforms to the title of this volume by Saran and Eames containing several other articles on the subject.

2. The lack of proper word in the vocabulary can often inhibit expression, precluding the proper description, understanding and analysis. No wonder the masters like Comte, Durkheim, Marx, Freud, Pareto, to cite only a few names from the myriad, neologized new words and coined new phrases in order to facilitate the process of communication in their scientific thought. Scholars of ethnicity are faced with a challenge to identify by coining a word the "newer" immigrants of 1950s and 1960s, who are quite different in their complexities from the earlier waves of both "old" and "new" immigrants.

Until that word is coined and is accepted, I take the liberty in referring the immigrants of 1950s and 1960s by using the word "newer."

3. Out of these three major cities with concentration of the East Indians, only New York has been the subject of a study of considerable significance (Saran, 1976, published in slightly revised but considerably reduced form, 1977).

4. The editor of this volume are unique confreres in their working relationships, complementing each other in their personalities, origin and education: one anthropologist and the other sociologist; one American with a sense of sympathy, commitment and scholarly involement with the new ethnic "stranger"; the other an East Indian tied up closely with community of recent immigrants.

5. It is quite opportune to acknowledge their generosity in allowing me an access to their data.

6. Saran and Leonard-Spark, who are coauthoring an article on the demographic characteristics of the East Indians in America for the volume New Ethnics, estimate the total population at 200,000. However biased their estimate for politics of numbers is an important factor in their expressions, the AIA officials put the figure at 250,000.

7. One of my teachers in India through his personal experience advised me on my departure to the United States, saying: "If you return after a year of stay, you make remarkably easy adjustment here in India. But your stay of two years can make it difficult in reorientation to conditions in India. Coming home after three years abroad is very painful. It does not let you live in peace her. You want to return to the Western climate to which you have been conditioned. A sojourn of four years abroad can bring considerable changes in your mental attitude and you would not want to return to your country of roots."

There are exceptions to this characterization of Indians in "diaspora" and their return to their native country.

8. The most comprehensive bibliography ever complied on India is that by Chekki (1975), himself a sociologist. With that extensive research and intimate familiarity with the literature, the author could have offered us a significant treatise on the subject in sociology.

9. Paradoxically, dowry by origin is a Greek institution (Durkheim, 1905, trans., 1978, forthcoming), however introduced to India most likely by the Arabs who con--quered a part of India and influenced its institutions. Dahej (dowry from the Greek word "dos") is not a Sans--krit word. Historian-sociologists are exposed to a fertile area in the historical sociology of India. They can shed light on the historical character of this insti--tution by pointing out when and how it made appearance in the Hindu social customs.

10. Very recently a Hindu temple has been constructed in Queens (New York) costing more than half a million dollars, which amounts to almost three per cent of the annual budget of the Government of India, and may constitute a total annual budget of a state like Kerala. Apropos of this huge expenditure on a temple, Nehru may be quoted as saying that he would rather feed a hungary child than throw pennies in the Ganges in atonement for his sins or in fulfilment of his wishes.

REFERENCES

Aurora, G.S.
1967 The New Frontiersmen: Indians in Great Britain. Bombay: Popular Prakashan Press.

Bardis, P.D.
1960 "Dating Among Foreign Students," Sociological Bulletin, 9: 10-15.

Blalock, H.M.,Jr.
1967 Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations. New York:Wiley.

Bressler, M.
1956 "Indian Students on an American Campus." (I was unsuccessful in my attempts to find out the publication source of the article.)

Chekki, D.A.
1975 The Social System and Culture of Modern India: A Research Bibliography. New York: Garland.

Davids, L.
1964 "The East Indian Family-Overseas," Social and Economic Studies, 13:383-396.

Desai, I.P.
1954 "Caste and Family". The Economic Weekly, 6:249-254.
1956 "The Joint Family in India:An Analysis," Sociological Bulletin, 5:146-156.
1964 Some Aspects of Family in Mahwa. Bombay:Asia Publishing House.

Desai, R.H.
1963 Immigrants in Britain. Oxford University Press.

Durkheim, E.
1978(Tr., forthcoming),1905 Die Ehe in Aegypten Zur ptolemaeisch-roemischen Zeit nach den griechischen Heiratskontrakten und Verwandten Urkunden,'in Emile Durkheim's Contribution to L'Année Sociologique. (Edited with an Introdution by Y. Nandan. Translated by several professors.) Vol. 1, Sociology. New York:Free Press, forthcoming.

Fonseca, M.B.
1963 "Family Disorganization and Divorce in Indian Communities", Sociological Bulletin,12:14-33.

Gans, H.J.
1962 The Urban Villagers:Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. New York: Free Press.

Glazer, N. and P. Moynihan
1963 Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Goode, W.J.
1963 World Revolution and Family Patterns. New York: Free Press.

Gordon, M.M.
1964 Assimalation in American Life. Oxford University Press.
1975 "Toward a General Theory of Racial and Ethnic Race Relations," pp. 84-100, in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds.), Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Harvard University Press.

Gore, M.S.
1961 "The Husband-Wife and Mother-Son Relationships," Sociological Bulletin, 11:91-102.
1968 Urbanization and Family Change. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Handlin, O.
1955 (See UNESCO)

Jefferey, P.
1976 Migrants and Refugees: Muslim and Christian Pakistani Families in Bristol. Cambridge University Press.

Kaldate, S.
1961 "Urbanization and Disintegration of Rural Joint Family," Sociological Bulletin, 11:102-111.

Kannan, C.T.
1961 "Intercaste Marriages in Bombay," Sociological Bulletin. 10:53-68.

Kappadia, I.
1955 Marriage and Family in India. Bombay: Oxford University Press.
1959 "The Family in Transition," Sociological Bulletin, 8:68-99.
1968 Kinship Organization in India. Poona: Deccan College.

Karandikar, S.V.
1929 Hindu Exogamy. Bombay: Taraporvala.

Klass, M.
1961 East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence. New York: Columbia University Press.

Karve, I.
1968 Kinship Organization in India. Poona: Deccan College.

Kurian, G.
1974 The Family in India: A Regional View. The Hague: Mouton.

Lieberson, S.
1961 "A Socil Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," American Sociological Review, 26:902-910.

Malik, Y.K.
1971 East Indians in Trinidad:A Study in Minority Politics. Oxford University Press.

Mandelbaum, D.G.
1948 "The Family in India," Southern Journal of Anthropology, 4:123-139.

Mindel, C.H. and R.W. Hahenstein (eds.)
1976 Ethnic Families In America:Patterns and Variations. New York:Elsvier.

Morris, H.S.
1956 "Indians in East Africa:A Study in Pluralistic Society," British Journal of Sociology,7:194-211.
1959 "The Indian Family in Uganda," American Anthropologist. 60:249-260.

Niehoff, A.
1958 "The Survival of Hindu Institutions in an Alien Environment," Eastern Anthropologist, 12:171-187.

Rajkumar, N.V.
1951 Indians Outside of India:A General Survey. New Delhi: All-India Congress Committee.

Reyes-Hockings, A.
1966 "Education and Family Change," Sociological Bulletin, 15:29-39.

Ross, A.D.
1959 "The Newspaper as Surrogate Marriage Broker in India," Sociological Bulletin, 8:39-44.
1961 The Hindu Family in It's Urban Setting. University of Toronto Press.

Saha, P.
1970 Emigration of Indian Labour (1834-1900). Delhi:Peoples Publishing House.

Saran, P.
1976 "New Ethnics: The Case of the East Indians in New York City," paper presented at the Smithsonian Institution's Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, November 15-17, 1976.
1977 "The New Immigrant Wave:Cosmopolitans from India," Society,14:

Schwartz, B.M.
1964 "Caste and Endogamy in Trinidad," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 20:58-66.
1965 "Patterns of East Indian Family Organization in Trinidad," Caribbean Studies, 5:23-36.

Shah, A.M.
1973 The Household Dimension of the Family in India. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Shah,B.V.
1962 "Gujerat College Students and Selection of Bride," Sociological Bulletin, 11:121-140.

Singh, A.K.
1963 Indian Students in Britain:A Study of their Adjustment and Attitudes. New York:Asia Publishing House.

Smith, R.T. and C. Jayawardena.
1958 "Hindu Marriage Customs in British Guiana," Social and Economic Studies.7:178-194.

Srivastva, R.P.
1974 "Family Organization and Change among Overseas Indians," pp.369-396, in G. Kurian (eds.), op. cit.

Thompson, W.S. and D. Lewis
1960 Population Problems. 5th Edition, New York:McGraw.

Traverso, E.
1964 Immigration:A Study in American Values. Boston:D.C. Heath.

UNESCO
1955 The Positive Contribution by Immigrants. A Symposium prepared by the ISA and the IEA.

Vatuk, S.
1972 Kinship and Urbanization:White Collar Migrants in North India. University of California Press.